/23 cont./

613 614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as [601] a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations [784] "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but 613 614 there are seven cases of unions between members of different 582 183 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they are tolerated.

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 614 128 [115] [601] In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the complete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/

/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 614 [602] Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

[621] Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

[621] The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
[183] tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

[619] The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin. Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta)	16 persons	on January 1, 1958
Afi	25	--
Toïna	9	--
Poti	8	--
Total....	58 persons	

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [183] [613] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters,

/65 cont./

613 571 It seems that they expect unanimity to occur and that basically (here are found again the mental mechanisms peculiar to the Refugee Blacks), they expect it to take place by itself, to impose itself as if obvious. If nothing of the sort happens, they separate without deciding anything.

613 571 828 This public discussion of all important questions results, in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, not so much from a belief in the wisdom of assemblies as from fear of malevolence. If questions were debated in a small group, there would immediately be mistrustful and jealous minds who would see dark intrigues in it. The constant concern of the Refugee Blacks, when they have something important to say, is to find witnesses. That is in fact the role of the council, and it is why there is neither a lower age limit for taking part nor a precise rule governing the fashion of conducting the discussion.

613 554 The Captain or hedemã. The head of each of the great lineages which have been part of the tribe since its origin is recognized by the grand man as hedemã or "captain" (this word had been used since the original settlement of Europeans in Guiana to designate the chiefs of Indian tribes).

[692] The captains preside over the lãnti kuutu, supreme council whose functions are principally judiciary.

No precise rule of succession exists, and the choice of the members of the lineage is entirely free with regard to kinship ties. [183] When the old people are questioned about this, they usually answer that the successor must be chosen from among the classificatory "nephews" of the dead man, that is, from among the members of the lineage who are one more generation away from the foundress.

/65 cont./

613 554 [183] [643] It is enough to consult the genealogical tables, on each of which we have indicated the transmission of the office of captain, to be convinced that nothing of the kind is practiced: besides, it would be impossible in fact. The council chooses from among /66/ the "brothers" and the "nephews" of the deceased. If the nomination is obtained, it is valid only if the grand man does not oppose his veto. He can require that the council be begun again.

613 554 643 The grand man observes the behavior of the new head for about a year, and if he is satisfied with him, he calls him to Boniville together with the members of the lineage. He turns over to him the bench and the baton of command (waka tiki) prepared by the doyen of the lineage. He takes him by the hand and has him sit down on the bench while proclaiming him head.

613 554 This appointment is made for life; once named, a captain cannot be dismissed.

The succession of the last three captains of the Dju lo is particularly interesting (see the genealogical table of this group).

In 1948, the first time we passed through, Diolè (El) had been captain for nearly 50 years, succeeding Doomé, whose position we have not been able to place exactly in the genealogical table.

Diolè died in 1951 at about 90 years of age. At the time of the mourning his yɔrka was questioned, and it designated (through the medium of the coffin bearers) as a desirable successor one of his nephews in the classificatory sense, named Loko (F39).

643 685 The council which met upon the close of the mourning for Diolè, in 1952, approved the designation of Loko; but the grand man opposed this appointment because Loko had been guilty of a serious crime (aggravated theft) and had incurred a sentence.

643 692 [578] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [648] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [226] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/111 cont./

621 571 183 621 613 423 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[571] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju-lineage must leave.

24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23 △	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24 ○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25 ○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

/115/

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Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

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423

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

578 Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

613 Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

- △ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
- △ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
- ○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
- ○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44).
- ○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

183 The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 621 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Δ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 62 423 613 Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lápé lo).

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○ Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○ Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

/230 cont./

784 the lineage; questioned, this god declared that it had something
787 to complain about in the bad condition of the house which the
776 members of the lineage had erected to it on its order; the roof of leaves had not been changed and it was raining through.

784 It happens also, but as an exception, that the god has
684 sanctioned an offense against morals or more precisely, against the social law, such as the breaking of an interdiction, pikadu (incest in the wider sense, an offense against exogamy). It is necessary to understand that in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, incest unleashes the existing kunu but does not create a new kunu.

In October, 1952, Dolo, a young man of 25 of the
[787] Awara Bakka lo, died almost suddenly. Divination revealed
[761] that he had been killed by the kunu (it was a Papa gadu which
[613] had intervened) in order to sanction an offense committed some time previously by another member of the lo named P.... The latter, a notoriously depraved individual, had committed incest with his own sister.

784 When the divinity has made known through the mouth
776 of its bearer the causes of its act, the assembled members of
782 the lineage implore it, ask it not to pursue its vengeance; the
[787] divinity then requires an offering: for example, if it is a Papa gadu, it will require bottles of beer, some red and white cloth which will be immersed in a given place in the river. It may also require dances in its honor, celebrated by the other possessed people in the village. If it is an Ampuku, it will demand rum, dark-blue cloth which will be exposed in a remote place in the forest. An offering of this kind represents a relatively small sum, even for the Boni (several thousand francs in 1952). The god then declares itself appeased. But it does not pardon and it will resume /231/ its vengeance
[183] at the first cause. Thus the Boni have hope only in a rigorous
776 observance of customary law and the rites. There are divinities
787 which appeared to be thus appeased for a long time and to

/241 cont./

152 828 754 777 Jealousy. To speak of jealousy as a negative magic force is not to be false to the thought of the Refugee Blacks. They regard it as an attenuated force of wisi, capable of bringing misfortunes even if no sorcery has been formulated. Jealousy is very marked in their character, associated with an individualism verging on asocial tendencies. When somebody is accused of wisi, jealousy is the commonest explanation of the crimes attributed to him; it is thought for example that a man can be jealous of his brother's growing rich to the point of making him die; that a woman may be jealous of the beauty or health of her sister's children. Not laying themselves open to jealousy is the constant preoccupation of the Refugee Blacks; one observes it in daily behavior, for example in the greetings which they exchange on the river. They never say, "I am well," but: "I feel only fair." If they come back from hunting they say, "I found a little."

152 156 828 576 Examples are not lacking of people who avoid building a fine house or buying an outboard motor in order not to give cause for jealousy. This preoccupation has profound repercussions on the material life and the economy of the Refugee Blacks; it explains in particular the absence of specialized professions and trade among them.

[182] [463]

Many aspects of the customary law of the Refugee Blacks have no other function than to exorcise, if one may say so, tendencies toward jealousy and selfishness which, if they were given free rein, would poison the life of the collectivity.

[183] [571]

76 181 725 828 The rites of death and mourning, which we have shown to constitute the pivot of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, are entirely based on the idea of preserving the surviving spouse from the effect of the jealousy of the deceased.

/243 cont./

754 [683] only commonplace illnesses or accidents of some sort. We have never heard poisoning, in the usual sense of the term, mentioned.

754 695 182 The wisimã trials are in our opinion the most unpleasant aspect of the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. But it must be admitted that they correspond to profound necessities. These archaic societies need an obvious materialization of the principles they have given themselves. Since evil exists, opposing itself to good, the practices of wisi and wisimã exist, and the punishment of evildoers is indispensable for the society to remain subject to the law of good.

[184] By its notion of the kunu which turns aside toward the gods the responsibility for most misfortunes, by the extreme rarity of wisimã trials, by the prudence of its judiciary action which in point of fact pursues only the dead, the society of the Refugee Blacks shows itself humane and realistic.

If one undertook with the Refugee Blacks definite action to make these practices disappear, one would risk obscuring their notion of good and evil and removing all efficacy from their customary law.

[183] The social order of the Refugee Blacks cannot be maintained if the interdiction of harming anyone and the interdiction of vengeance do not remain clearly laid down. It matters little that these acts of sorcery are without real content: It is the intention to harm which counts, with all its social and psychological consequences.

171 177 182 754 When one observes the Creole populations of the Guianas and the West Indies, even though /244/ they have been under the influence of Christianity for several centuries, one is struck by the development of sorcery and by its repercussions on the whole of social life. The teaching received at school and from the catechism, which embraces white magic and black magic in a single reprobation, has greatly contributed toward making these populations lose the principles of social morals of their ancestors without in exchange modifying their